

F. SPEECHES DCI

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Remarks by
ALLEN WELSH DULLES
Director of Central Intelligence
on receiving the
SALVATION ARMY CITATION FOR 1959
at the Annual Luncheon Meeting of the Salvation Army
Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York City
Tuesday, 15 December 1959

I am deeply appreciative of the honor you have accorded me.

You in the Salvation Army represent to me the epitome of service to others. That you have felt that any service I have rendered merits your recognition is a source of profound satisfaction.

For nearly a century, in the four corners of the earth, the Salvation Army has sought out the areas of greatest need. In over 80 countries of the world, where over 120 different languages are spoken, the officers and workers of the Salvation Army have been bringing comfort and hope and spiritual aid to the needy.

I am somewhat of a traveller myself. Since my first trip around the world in 1914, fresh out of college, I have visited most of the countries of the world. There I have seen at first hand the men and women of your devoted Army, of varying nationalities, engaged in your healing and spiritual work, giving unquestioned obedience to the strict yet humane rules of your Army in order to bring to the neediest the maximum of aid, effectively and economically.

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There never has been a time in history when your work and your type of discipline has been more needed.

Today the world is sorely divided. In the Free World, the strength of many countries is pooled in various alliances to stop the aggression of International Communism. There are other countries, also free but uncommitted, which are hoping to maintain their independence without being a part of any alliance. Then there are the USSR and Communist China, with their ambitions to extend their systems of regimentation throughout the world.

In the field of military affairs, the issues are quite clearly drawn. Here we are approaching the time when there is likely to be an uneasy balance of nuclear weapons, ballistic missiles, and conventional forces in each of the two great power areas.

If we are steadfast in maintaining our nuclear deterrent and our military strength, the contest between the two competing systems -- the Free and the Communist, may be more and more concentrated in the field of political and economic action. The struggle will be most acute in the uncommitted nations of Asia, and Africa, and even in certain parts of this Hemisphere. It will continue to be carried on in the uneasy satellites of Eastern Europe. Though still within the Communist Bloc, their hope for freedom is vibrant, as evidenced by Hungary which sacrificed so much in the fight to regain its liberty.

Thus in great areas of the world the issues will be fought out, not primarily in the military field, but in the realm of ideological concepts and in the field of economics. It will be the battle for the minds and souls of men and a struggle of two competing systems of economic growth and development.

In the ideological struggle there will be a choice between the appeal of the rigid disciplinary formulas of International Communism and the moral and spiritual appeal of the world of freedom with its emphasis on the dignity of man, based on our religious faiths.

In the economic field it will be a competition between a free system which considers economic growth as a means to a broader life for the individual as opposed to the Communist system which holds that economic power is chiefly an asset for the state to use as it sees fit to advance its national power aims.

The Communists are ready to pay a high price to gain the advantage over us in the uncommitted world.

What tactics will they employ?

It is one of the most important duties of the Central Intelligence Agency to study and forecast the moves of International Communism on this chessboard of international power politics. We try to analyze their tactics, to unmask them as we find them, and to alert those who have the responsibility for our own policy so that counter measures can be taken.

If I had not felt that International Communism presented a grave menace to our way of life, I would still be here with you in New York practicing the law. For when I went to Washington and into government service for the second time some nine years ago, it was mainly in the hope that, in the particular job I was then assuming, I could render some service in helping to build up the body of hard facts, the basic evidence, about International Communism and its intentions. I have been doing this in the conviction that knowledge of these facts by the people of this country, as well as by our policy makers, was essential both to the forming of wise policy and to popular support for that policy.

In this work the Executive and the Congress have given full support to the new Agency I represent. That you of the Salvation Army have honored me with your Award, I take as evidence that you, too, share this concern that Communist objectives should be brought out to the light of day.

A few weeks ago, before the President left on his momentous voyage to help acquaint peoples of distant countries of American aims for peace with justice, he laid the cornerstone for the new building that is being constructed to house our Agency. At that ceremony I stated that the inscription which I proposed to put on the building was to be the words from the Gospel according to St. John: "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

The basic truths about Communism which we must ourselves understand and bring the peoples of other countries to understand are such as these:

(1) That International Communism can do to any free nation what it has done to Hungary, to Czechoslovakia, and to the peoples on the Mainland of China where the system of communes, discredited though it now is, has reduced millions of human beings to slavery.

(2) That the materialism, which International Communism brings with it, while it can build an effective military machine as it has done in the Soviet Union, cannot and will not build up the spiritual values of a people.

(3) That the military and economic aid given by the Communist Bloc countries to others, is often a wedge to bring in its totalitarian Communist principles; and finally

(4) That the smug confidence of the Kremlin leaders that International Communism is the wave of the future -- that it will bury us -- as preached by Mr. Khrushchev, can only be realized if we ignore the threat or fail in our preparedness to meet it.

What are the instruments that Communists use to accomplish their aims? There is the military threat supported by nuclear power and ballistic missiles which is potent even though in a particular case it is not actually used.

There is the subversive threat through the use of their Communist parties and Communist front organizations and the other paraphernalia of their Soviet apparatus.

There are the promises of quick industrial advancement. At first glance such promises seem alluring -- but the cost in terms of freedom is heavy.

In a few days a new decade of the 20th century will open.

The past ten years, borrowing a few years from the end of the decade of the forties, covered the immediate postwar period. It was marked by the attempt of International Communism to take over the Free World by force and the threat of force, with the Kremlin resorting to "force by proxy" where it hesitated to intervene directly.

In these years there was first the Soviet menace against the Iranian province of Azerbaijan; then guerrilla war against Greece and threats against Turkey. After that came the subversion of Czechoslovakia; the Berlin Blockade; the Communist takeover on the Mainland of China; the aggression in Korea; the Indo-China war; followed by the brutal suppression of the Hungarian revolt; the hostilities in the Taiwan Straits; and finally, Tibet.

In this phase of Communist postwar foreign policy, the Free World, largely under American leadership, was bolstered up by the Marshall Plan and NATO, by military support of Korea and our strong stand in the Taiwan Straits and in the Middle East. The economies of Allied Countries of Western Europe and of the Far East, threatened by International Communism, were strengthened and a will to resist both political threats and military blackmail was built up.

During the latter years of the decade of the fifties, there is clear evidence of the beginnings of change in the tactics of the Kremlin, not reflected, however, by any corresponding change by Peiping.

In 1956 Khrushchev repudiated Stalin and between the lines of his denunciation of Stalinism, and espousal of "coexistence" one can see Khrushchev's disapproval of a policy which had subjected the USSR to great risks at a time when militarily it had no adequate answer to America's nuclear power.

When the 21st Communist Party Congress was held in Moscow in February of this year, we saw more clearly the emergence of the new techniques. By that time the USSR felt itself to be in a relatively stronger military position than in the Stalin era. However, there had also developed a clearer comprehension of what nuclear war might mean in the way of mutual destruction and this became a deterrent to Stalin's type of war-like aggressiveness.

The Kremlin's tactics as we start the new decade are based upon the increasingly dynamic use of Russia's growing economic and industrial power plus the continued employment of its massive subversive apparatus. Harnessed to this is the mandate passed out to the Communist Parties of the world that they should espouse the cause of nationalism in the new and emerging states.

All this was accompanied by a renewed Kremlin emphasis on coexistence -- at least in the messages it sends out to the West. However to avoid any confusion among the Communist Party "faithful" the latter have recently received clarifying directives which point out that: "In the ideological field there never was peaceful coexistence between Socialism and Capitalism and there never can be."

If they mean coexistence to become in any sense a reality the Soviet leaders can easily make it known by opening up the Communist world, as the Free World is open, to the leavening effect of the free exchange of ideas and of peoples; to humanitarian influences such as you in the Salvation Army have brought to so many countries. In this challenging competition the Soviets have so far made some small moves at home, as for example by some relaxation of radio jamming. Unfortunately, this is overshadowed by their aggressive penetration policies abroad.

Detailed instructions as to how the Soviet campaign was to be targeted against the special vulnerabilities of each particular foreign country were given by the Moscow Communist headquarters to the leaders of the various local Communist Parties abroad. In the areas of so-called "colonialism" their thrust was to be directed against the Colonial and former Colonial powers and their allies. In Latin America, it was calculated to rouse resentment against the United States.

We can expect, as I have already suggested, that in the new decade the major Communist drive will be directed toward the thickly populated countries of the world in South and Southeast Asia from India to the tip of Indonesia. It will be emphasized in many parts of the Arab world of the Middle East and particularly in areas of Black Africa. We will see it continuing in the Caribbean area and to the southward in this Hemisphere.

In many of these countries you of the Salvation Army have been pioneers. You have brought understanding through the devotion of your officers and men and women of many nationalities united under the banner of Service. You will remain an example to us all for you have sought out the tough spots, not the positions of ease and comfort.

This challenge we are facing from International Communism cannot be met by a soft or a complacent America. We will have to send, not alone some of our treasure and our technology, but men and women who can put into our overseas answer to Soviet penetration

the same principles you have stood for in the Salvation Army. We must give the type of aid that can best help the less fortunate peoples of the world, in their particular environments, to realize their ambitions for economic betterment, for dignity and independence.

Moral influence in the world, as you in the Salvation Army have demonstrated, can only be achieved through service and sacrifice.